

1071

A N

Historical Account

OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

Of the late Eminently Famous

Mr. JOHN TOLAND. K

Containing,

- I. A faithful Extract of his WORKS, and an Account of his TRAVELS in *Germany, Holland, &c.*
- II. An Account of the CONTROVERSIES wherein he was engaged, and a particular Enquiry into his PRINCIPLES; His *Philosophick Resignation* to the *Divine Will*, and his *Notions of Futurity* at the Time of his *Decease*.
- III. An exact Catalogue of his WRITINGS, published both with, and without his Name, and of the Manuscripts he left behind him.

By one of his most intimate FRIENDS.

*In a Letter to the Lord * * * **

L O N D O N,

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W. A.
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A N
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
L I F E
O F
Mr. JOHN TOLAND.

In a LETTER to the Lord ***

MY LORD,



HE *affectionate Concern* expressed by your Lordship, for the Loss of *our departed Friend* Mr. TOLAND, has made me with some Pleasure *attempt the* Task of giving a faithful Account of the
B Man

Man from his own Works; tho' I know myself very unequal to it, being sensible that the Writer who pursues this *Attempt*, should be *animated*, (as a late *Biographer* observes*) with a *Portion* of that *Genius* which made the *Person*, whom he draws for the Knowledge and Imitation of Posterity, *famous in his Generation*. But the Reputation of our Author hath received so great a Brightness from his own Pen, that it needs no auxiliary Light to increase its Lustre; and his Character is so secure from his own *Works*, the *immortal Monuments of his true Worth*, that I am the less concerned for my own Inability to embalm his Memory: especially since I hope the *Subjects treated of* will make some Amends for those Defects that may arise from the manner of handling them.

As to the trifling Aspersions cast upon his Memory since his Decease, we ought to look on them (as he would have done, had they been said of any other Person) with the utmost Contempt, being warranted so to do from a Race of Men now amongst us, and those too of the Ecclesiastical Function, who have *lampooned*

* See Mr. Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 3.

their Creator for making them rational.* Such Men, continues the same judicious Writer, seem perfectly distracted at the just Disappointment they have met with, in the Loss of their Interest and Reputation among their Friends; and to revenge themselves, having prepared a Composition of Rage, Malice, and Uncharitableness, and lighted it with a blind and burning Zeal, they draw Clouds and Darkness all around them, put themselves into a wild Confusion, and scatter their Indignation, (the Overflowings of a disturbed Imagination) at random †.

I shall make it my utmost Endeavour to copy after Mr. Toland upon a like Occasion ||; “ Observing in this Performance
“ the Rules of a faithful Historian, being
“ neither provoked by Malice, nor bribed
“ by Favour, and as well daring to say
“ all that is True, as scorning to write
“ any Falshood; I shall not be too minute
“ in relating the ordinary Circumstances
“ of his Life, and which are common to
“ him with all other Men. Writings of
“ this Nature, should, in my Opinion, be
“ designed to recommend Virtue, and to
“ expose Vice; or to illustrate History,

* See Mr. Morgan's *Tract*, entitled, *The Absurdity of opposing Faith to Reason*, 8vo. p. 2.

† See his *Life of Milton*, 8vo. p. 6, 7.

|| See his *Nature and Consequences of Enthusiasm*, p. 38.

“ and to preserve the Memory of extraordinary Things. In the Characters of
 “ Sects, and Parties, Books, or Opinions,
 “ I shall produce his own Words, as I
 “ find them in his Works; that those who
 “ approve his Reasons; may owe all the
 “ Obligation to himself, and that I may
 “ escape the blame of such as may dislike
 “ what he says”. In order to such an impartial Proceedure, I shall lay before your Lordship the Account which Mr. Toland gives both of himself and his Adversaries, at the beginning almost of his commencing an Author.

We are informed by himself*, that he was born on the 30th Day of *November*, 1669, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. At what Time he left his native Country, I cannot exactly determine; but it appears by his Writings to have been not long after the *Glorious Revolution* of 1688. It is plain that the Confusions in his own Country, obliged him to retire hither, for in *September* 1698, he thus concludes his *Life of Milton*, addressed to *Thomas Rawlins of Kilreag, in Herefordshire Esq;* (whom he stiles his *best Friend*;) “ And
 “ now, *Sir*, I end with you with whom
 “ I begun, not doubting but this small
 “ Present, both from the Dignity of the

* See his Preface to Mr. Harrington's Works.

Mr. JOHN TOLAND.

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“ Subject, and your Favour to the Wri-
“ ter, will be kindly accepted. It may
“ indeed be the more plain and unpolished,
“ but not the less useful or sincere for
“ coming out of a *Country Retirement*.
“ The most knowing Persons acknow-
“ ledge that Divine Philosophy herself
“ was begot in the Woods, where agree-
“ ably passing her Infancy, and growing
“ up in the neighbouring Fields, she be-
“ came gentle in Time, and so ventured
“ to come into Towns and Cities; but
“ being quickly wearied there with the
“ Tumult of Business or Faction, and
“ longing for her former Tranquillity,
“ she straight retired into Gardens or
“ Groves, to her Fields and Woods again.
“ ’Tis probable that you (as well as I, or
“ any other) may disapprove of *Milton’s*
“ Sentiments in several Cases; but, I am
“ sure, you are far from being displeased
“ to find them particularized in the Hi-
“ story of his Life: for we should have
“ no true Account of Things, if Authors
“ related nothing but what they liked
“ themselves; one Party would never suf-
“ fer the Lives of *Tarquin*, or *Phalaris*,
“ or *Sylla*, or *Cæsar* to appear; while
“ another would be as ready to suppress
“ those of *Cicero*, of *Cato*, of *Trajan*, or
“ *Brutus*. But a Historian ought to con-
“ ceal or disguise nothing, and the Rea-
“ der

“ der is to be left Judge of the Virtues
 “ he should imitate, or the Vices he ought
 “ to detest and avoid, without ever loving
 “ his Book the less; for (as the Lord Ba-
 “ con truly said) *a forbidden Writing, is*
 “ *thought to be a certain Spark of Truth,*
 “ *that flies up in the Faces of them who*
 “ *seek to tread it out.* But your extra-
 “ ordinary Judgment and Candour, joined
 “ to the best Learning, and an exact
 “ Knowledge of Men and Affairs, render
 “ my farther inculcating of these Maxims
 “ very needless; and therefore I shall on-
 “ ly put you in mind, *Sir*, that my Desire
 “ of gratifying your Curiosity, conquer’d
 “ my Aversion to write any thing during
 “ this pleasantest Season of the Year.”

I have recited the whole Conclusion,
 to shew with how much Caution he
 proceeded in Writing the Life of that
Great Man, notwithstanding which he
 met with many Cavillers *, in Answer to
 whom, he published in the beginning of the
 Year 1699, AMYNTOR: or, a *Defence* of
 MILTON’S *Life*. In the beginning of
 which Work he thus addresses his
Friend: ‘ The Public (*says he*) is so sel-
 ‘ dom interested in the Debates of private
 ‘ Men, and I am so little concerned at
 ‘ the Malice or Mistakes of my Adversa-

* Dr. Blackall, late Bishop of Exeter. Mr. Wagstaff, &c.

ries, that, without some better Motive, I would never presume to trouble the World with any thing merely Personal. But if the Subject in Question be of extraordinary Weight and Consequence, and that on the certain Decision of it, should depend the Tranquillity of a considerable Number of People; then I think a Man is indispensably obliged to appear for the Truth: and so, while he is endeavouring to serve others, nobody will say he ought to neglect his own Defence.——When I undertook to write the Life of the most celebrated *Milton*, I was far from imagining that I should ever be obliged to make an Apology in Justification of such a Work, both harmless in itself, and greatly desired by the World.——Instead of any *real* Objections, I am expressly told, that I ought not to meddle with *Milton's* Books, nor to revive his Sentiments, or the Memory of those Quarrels wherein he was engaged; which is only, in other Words, that I ought not to write his Life at all. For what, I pray, is the principal part of a Learned Man's Life, but the exact History of his Books and Opinions, to inform the World about the Occasion of his Writing, what it contained, how he performed it, and with what Consequences

' ces or Success? ——— Ay but, say
 ' these Gentlemen, you have made an
 ' Inroad on our Persuasion, and directly
 ' attacked the sacred Majesty of Kings,
 ' the venerable Order of Bishops, the
 ' best constituted Church in the World,
 ' our holy Liturgy, and decent Ceremo-
 ' nies, the Authority of Councils, the
 ' Testimony of the Fathers, and a hun-
 ' dred other Things which we profoundly
 ' respect and admire! ——— For the trivial
 ' and scurrilous Libels of mercenary Fel-
 ' lows, I shall never regard, they being
 ' already sufficiently neglected by the
 ' World, and making themselves as little
 ' by this Practice, as any of a more
 ' vindictive Temper could desire: —
 ' But when I am openly accused before
 ' the greatest Assembly in the World,
 ' let the Charge be never so frivolous
 ' in it self, or to be slighted on any other
 ' Occasion, yet such a Respect is due to
 ' the Dignity of those to whom it was
 ' exhibited, that I hold my self obliged
 ' to convince them of my Innocence;
 ' and to remove all Suspicion far from
 ' me, of what in its own Nature is ac-
 ' knowledged to be Criminal, or by
 ' them might be reputed Indecent. The
 ' Matter of Fact is this: On the 30th
 ' of *January*, (16²⁵) Mr. *Offspring*
 ' *Blackall*, who stiles himself *Chaplain*
 ' in

‘ *in Ordinary to his Majesty*, preached
‘ a Sermon before the Honourable House
‘ of Commons ; wherein, after exclaim-
‘ ing against the Author of *Milton’s* Life,
‘ for denying *Icon Basilike* to be the
‘ Production of King *Charles* the First,
‘ he pursues his Accusation in these
‘ Terms. We may cease to wonder, says
‘ he, that he should have the Boldness,
‘ without Proof, and against Proof, to
‘ deny the Authority of this Book, who
‘ is such an Infidel as to doubt, and is
‘ shameless and impudent enough, even
‘ in Print, and in a Christian Country,
‘ publickly to affront our Holy Religi-
‘ on, by declaring his Doubt, that several
‘ Pieces under the Name of Christ and his
‘ Apostles (he must mean those now re-
‘ ceiv’d by the whole Christian Church,
‘ for I know of no other) are suppositi-
‘ tious ; tho’ thro’ the remoteness of those
‘ Ages, the Death of the Persons concern’d,
‘ and the Decay of other Monuments,
‘ which might give us true Information, the
‘ Spurioufness thereof is yet undiscover’d.

‘ Here is indeed (*says Mr. TOLAND*) a
‘ Charge of a very high Nature, I will not
‘ say in his own mean Language, an *impu-*
‘ *dent* and a *shameless one* ; tho’ if it be
‘ not better proved, I cannot hinder others
‘ from calling it what they please, or the
‘ thing deserves. But before I proceed

‘ to make Observations on it, I shall insert
 ‘ the entire Passage (out of the Life of
 ‘ *Milton*) which he has taken the liberty of
 ‘ abridging, and so joining the Words of
 ‘ *two* widely different Assertions, as if they
 ‘ were but *one*.

‘ After stating the Proofs therefore
 ‘ that Dr. *Gauden*, and not King *Charles*,
 ‘ was the true Author of *Icon Basilike*,
 ‘ I added a very natural Observation in
 ‘ the following Words. “ When I seriously
 “ consider how all this happened among
 “ ourselves within the Compass of Forty
 “ Years, in a time of great Learning and
 “ Politeness, when both Parties so narrow-
 “ ly watched over one another’s Actions,
 “ and what a great Revolution in Civil
 “ and Religious Affairs was partly occa-
 “ sioned by the Credit of that Book *; I
 “ cease to wonder any longer how so ma-
 “ ny supposititious Pieces under the Name
 “ of *Christ*, his Apostles, and other great
 “ Persons, should be published and ap-
 “ proved in those Primitive Times, when
 “ it was of so much Importance to have
 “ ’em believ’d; when the Cheats were
 “ too many on all Sides for them to re-
 “ proach one another, which yet they
 “ often did; when Commerce was not
 “ near so general as now, and the whole
 “ Earth entirely overspread with the

* *Icon Basilike*.

“Darkness of Superstition. I doubt rather the Spuriousness of several more such Books is yet undiscovered, thro the Remoteness of those Ages, the Death of the Persons concerned, and the Decay of other Monuments, which might give us true Information †.” Here then, in the first place, it is plain, that, I say, a great many spurious Books were early fathered on Christ, his Apostles, and other great Names, part whereof are still acknowledged to be genuine, and the rest to be forged; in neither of which Assertions I could be justly supposed to mean any Books of the New Testament, as I shall presently evince. But Mr. *Blackall* affirms, That I must intend *those now received by the whole Christian Church, for he knows of no other.* But had Mr. *Blackall* been disposed to deal ingenuously with me, he might see, without the help of the Fathers, that I did not mean the Books of the New Testament, when I mentioned Supposititious Pieces under the Name of Christ, since there is none ascribed to him in the whole Bible; nor do we read there that ever he wrote any thing, except once with his Finger on the Ground, when he acquitted the Woman

† See, The Life of *Milton*, pag. 91.

‘ taken in Adultery, *John* viii. 5, 6. And,
 ‘ for aught appears to the contrary, Mr.
 ‘ *Blackall* may deny that to be any
 ‘ Writing, because he knows not what it
 ‘ was; yet some *German* Divines, as well
 ‘ read as himself, have presumed to tell
 ‘ us the Contents of it, and came almost to
 ‘ excommunicating one another in their
 ‘ solemn Disputes about this weighty
 ‘ Affair. To this Negative Argument
 ‘ from the Silence of the New Testament,
 ‘ we may add the Positive Testimony of
 ‘ St. *Augustin* and St. *Ferom*, whereof the
 ‘ former affirms, That the Lord himself
 ‘ wrote * nothing; which makes it neces-
 ‘ sary we should believe those who have
 ‘ written of him: And the latter says,
 ‘ That † our Saviour left no Volume of his
 ‘ own Doctrine behind him, as is extra-
 ‘ vagantly feigned in most of the Apochry-
 ‘ phal Pieces.

‘ Now to convince all the World that I
 ‘ did not intend by those Pieces the Books
 ‘ of the New Testament, as well as to
 ‘ shew the Rashness and Uncharitableness
 ‘ of Mr. *Blackall*’s Assertion, ——— the

* Dicit Augustinus (de Consensu Evangel. l. i. c. 7.)
 quod ipse Dominus nihil scripserit, ut aliis de illo scri-
 bentibus necesse sit credere.

† Salvator nullum volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium
 dereliquit, quod in plerisq; Apochryphorum deliramenta
 confingunt. Hieronym. in Commentar. ad Ezechielis;
 cap. 44.

*Reader is referred to a large Catalogue
‘of Books anciently ascribed to Jesus
‘Christ, his Apostles, their Acquaintance,
‘Companions and Contemporaries*.’*

*† After exhibiting this Catalogue of
Books, Mr. Toland thus proceeds:*

‘Here’s a long List for Mr. BLACKALL,
‘who, ’tis probable, will not think the
‘more meanly of himself for being unac-
‘quainted with these Pieces; nor, if that
‘were all, should I be forward to think
‘the worse of him on this Account:
‘but I think he is to blame, for denying
‘that there were any such, because he
‘knew nothing of ’em; much less should
‘he infer from thence, that I denied the
‘Scriptures; which Scandal however, be-
‘cause manifestly proceeding from Igno-
‘rance, I heartily forgive him, as every
‘good Christian ought to do.

‘By the spurious Pieces, I meant, tho
‘not all, yet a good Parcel of those Books
‘in the Catalogue, which I am persuaded
‘were partly forged by some more zealous
‘than discreet Christians, to supply the
‘Brevity of the Apostolic Memoirs; partly
‘by designing Men to support their pri-
‘vate Opinions, which they hoped to ef-

* See, *Amyntor*, &c. pag. 1, 6, 7, 9, & seq. to
pag. 18.

† See *Amyntor*, from p. 20, to 42.

‘fect by virtue of such respected Autho-
 ‘rities: and some of ’em, I doubt, were
 ‘invented by *Heathens* and *Jews*; to im-
 ‘pose on the Credulity of many well-dis-
 ‘posed Persons, who greedily swallowed
 ‘any Book for Divine Revelation, that
 ‘contained a great many Miracles, mixt
 ‘with a few good Morals; while their Ad-
 ‘versaries laughed in their Sleeves all the
 ‘while, to see their Tricks succeed, and
 ‘were rivetted in their ancient Prejudices,
 ‘by the greater Superstition of such En-
 ‘thusiasts.’

For the farther Prosecution of this De-
 bate, (in which I am certain every impar-
 tial Person will allow Mr. *Toland* to have
 manifestly the better of the Argument)
 I must refer to his Defence*. He con-
 cludes this Point with a remarkable Quo-
 tation from ‘the famous Mr. *Dodwell*,
 ‘who alone, *says he*, tho a Layman, un-
 ‘derstands as much of Ecclesiastic History,
 ‘as the Divines of all Churches put to-
 ‘gether†. Mr. *Toland* then reciting the
unfair Treatment of his Adversaries||,
thus ends the Debate: ‘I shall not be in
 ‘great pain how such People apprehend
 ‘me, if I have the Happiness to please

* See Amyntor, from p. 43, to p. 69.

† Ibid. from p. 69, to p. 79.

|| Ibid. p. 80.

‘ the moderate and discerning Part of
‘ Mankind.’

The rest of *Amyntor* is taken up with the *History of Icon Basilike*; which, in my Opinion, is a Dispute of so little Importance to the Publick, that I will not load these Pages with the Recital of it. Nor would Mr. *Toland* himself have embarked in this Controversy through the Merits of the Cause; for says he, ‘ I have
‘ not undertaken this Work out of Affec-
‘ tion or Opposition to any Party, nor to
‘ reflect on the Memory of that unfortu-
‘ nate Prince, whose officious Friends are
‘ much more concerned: but to clear my
‘ self from a Publick Charge, and to dis-
‘ cover a pious Fraud, which deserves not
‘ to be exempted from Censure for being
‘ the Contrivance of a Modern Bishop,
‘ (Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of *Exeter*) no more
‘ than those of the ancient Fathers of the
‘ Church*. † There was never any poor
‘ Prince more notoriously abused by many
‘ of those he took for his best Friends than
‘ CHARLES the First. They put him
‘ on all those unhappy Measures which
‘ proved his Ruin in the end. And as they
‘ made use of his Temper to serve their
‘ own Purposes when he was alive, so

* See *Amyntor*, p. 85.

† Ibid. p. 100.

‘ they did of his Name for the same Reason after his Death. They were not concerned so much for his Honour, as their own Interest; and having contrived this Forgery to carry their Cause, they thought themselves afterwards obliged to support it.’ Now, my LORD, since there have been so many Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, about the Earl of *Anglesey’s Memorandum*, here is another *Bone of Contention*, which, when *thrown* among the *Loyal Squabblers*, will, I doubt not, raise a *new Ferment*. The Matter of Fact is this: At an Auction of Books which was held at *Button’s Coffee-House*, in *Russel-Street*, *Covent-Garden*, about *Christmas* last, I bought Mr. *TOLAND’s Amyntor*, or, a *Defence of MILTON’s Life*; in the Hundred-and-twentieth Page whereof, is written, by one Dr. *Thompson*, the following *Memorandum*:

Mr. John Wilson, Barrister at Law, Author of The Treatise of Monarchy, 8vo. and of The Vindication of Icon Basilike, against Milton, told me in Person, that he bought the Icon Basilike, Jan. 31. 1648. for Ten Shillings, the very next Day after the King was beheaded.

Fra. Thompson D. D.

What

What this *Memorandum* will prove, I know not, unless it be that *Icon Basilike* was to be had the next Day after the Martyrdom, whereas Mrs. Gauden declares that the Book was *not finished till some few Days after his Majesty was destroyed*. But as it came in my way, I freely give it up to the Use of the Disputants in this Cause, to make their best of it; for which Purpose, the Book is left in the Hands of the Publisher, Mr. J. Roberts in *Warwick-Lane*, who will readily produce it for the Satisfaction of any curious Person who desires to see the same.

After this short Digression, I must observe, that Mr. *Blackall* published a very weak Rejoinder to the *Amyntor*, and some others attacked that Piece; but Mr. *Toland* prudently kept the Resolution he had made: 'Notwithstanding, says he, I may not answer every Scribler, yet I will be misrepresented and abused by no body worth my Notice.*'

I cannot, my Lord, leave this Article, without reciting a Passage or two of Mr. *Milton's* against *Prelacy*, which certainly drew on the most *Episcopal Inveteracy* against him. 'Our Author, says Mr. *Toland*†, carries his Resentments, no doubt,

* See Conclusion of *Amyntor*, p. 162.

† See the Life of *Milton*, p. 47.

' too far, when the following Words could
 ' drop from his Pen: *There be such in
 the World, and I among those, who no-
 thing admire the Idol of a Bishoprick;
 and hold that it wants so much to be a
 Blessing, as that I deem it the meekest,
 the falsest, the most unfortunate Gift of
 Fortune; and were the Punishment and
 Misery of being a Bishop terminated only
 in the Person, and did not extend to the
 Affliction of the whole Diocess; if I would
 wish any thing in the Bitterness of my
 Soul, to an Enemy, I should wish him the
 biggest and fattest Bishoprick.* ' If Milton
 ' had been such a Saint as never missed of
 ' a favourable Answer to his Prayers, I
 ' question not but at this rate more would
 ' covet to be his Enemies than his Friends.
 ' Another Mark of his Good-will to the
 ' Prelates, is this unpardonable Simile:
 — *A Bishop's-Foot (says he) that has all its
 Toes, maugre the Gout, and a Linen
 Sock over it, is the aptest Emblem of the
 Prelate himself; who, being a Pluralist,
 may under one Surplice hide Four Bene-
 fices, besides the great Metropolitan Toe,
 which sends a foul Stench to Heaven.*
 ' And in another Place he calls them,
The Gulphs and Whirlpools of Benefices,
but the dry Pits of all sound Doctrine.
 I shall draw no Conclusions, let Mr. Mil-
 ton look to this!

The next Instance your *Lordship* will find of Mr. *Toland's* Labours for the Good of his Country, was at the latter end of the Year 1699, when he published Mr. *Harrington's* Pieces in one Volume in Folio, (under the following Title; The OCEANA of *James Harrington*, and his other Works, some whereof are now first published from his own Manuscripts. The whole collected, methodized, and review'd, with an exact Account of his Life prefixed, by *John Toland*.) This judicious Undertaking he performed in his beloved Retirement at *Canon*, near *Bansted* in *Surrey*, from whence he tells us that the Task he had imposed on himself, was, *to transmit to Posterity the worthy Memory of JAMES HARRINGTON, a bright Ornament to useful Learning, a hearty Lover of his Native Country, and a generous Benefactor to the whole World; a Person who obscured the false Lustre of our Modern Politicians, and that equalled (if not exceeded) all the antient Legislators.*

After having given this just Character of Mr. *Harrington*, he as frankly confesses the *Public Censure* that would fall upon himself for *this Undertaking*, that they would not fail, with open Mouths, to proclaim that this is a seditious Attempt against the very Being of Monarchy,

chy, and designed to introduce a *Republican Form of Government*: after this, as he very well remarks, 'Tis strange that 'Men should be cheated by meer Names! 'yet how frequently are they seen to admire under one Denomination, what, 'going under another, they would undoubtedly detest! Which Observation 'made TACITUS lay down for a Maxim, 'That *the Secret of setting up a New State, consists in retaining the Image of the Old.*—What I have performed in 'the History of his Life, I leave the Readers to judge for themselves; but in that 'and all other Studies, *says he*, I constantly 'aimed as much, at least, at the Benefit of 'Mankind, as at my own particular Reputation. As for myself, no Employment 'or Condition of Life, shall make me disrelish the lasting Entertainment which 'Books afford'.—He then concludes the Life of Mr. *Harrington*, with these most excellent Observations, *viz.*

1. That all the Attempts which have been used for introducing Arbitrary Power, have proved as unfortunate as the Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwell*; whereby it appears, at least, that the Character which TACITUS gave the *Romans* of his Time, may as well agree to the People of

* See the Preface to Mr. Harrington's Works.

England; and it is, that *They are able to bear neither Absolute Liberty, nor Absolute Slavery.*

2. As to the Whole of this History, tho it be managed with due Moderation, and contains nothing but bare Matters of Fact, or such Observations as they naturally suggest; yet I was sensible before I wrote it, that I could not escape the Displeasure of three sorts of Persons: such as have resolved to be angry at whatever I do; such as neither rightly understand what is written by me, nor any body else; and those who, without any particular Spite against an Author, yet to get a Penny, will pretend to answer any Book that makes a considerable Figure. But as I am far from thinking myself exempt from all the Indiscretions of Youth, or the Frailties of Human Nature; so I am not conscious of entertaining higher Thoughts of my own Performances than are becoming, or meaner of other Men's than they deserve.

3. I know that to enterprize any thing out of the common Road, is to undergo undoubted Envy or Peril; and that he, who is not before-hand resolved to bear Opposition, will never do any great or beneficial Exploit: yet it is no small Encouragement to me, that from the beginning of the World, to this Time, not a single Instance can be produced, of one who ei-
ther

ther was, or would be eminent, but he met with Enemies to his Person and Fame.

Mr. Toland closes these Remarks, *my Lord*, with a Declaration of the Injury he suffered by *a most scandalous and unchristian Calumny* at this Time raised against him, and *to disabuse several People who (as I am told) says he, are made to believe that in the HISTORY of SOCRATES, I draw a Parallel between that Philosopher and JESUS CHRIST.—That I have been some time about it, I freely avow; yet not in the manner those officious Informers report, but as becomes a disinterested Historian, and a Friend to all Mankind, as will more fully appear to the World whenever the Book itself is published.* All these Difficulties did he encounter before he had reached the *thirtieth Year of his Age*; and as he has hitherto appeared to us only a *Biographer*, and a *Philologist*, the next Light we are to view him in, is that of a *Politician*.

I am therefore to acquaint your Lordship, that in the Year 1700, he wrote a Book intituled, *ANGLIA LIBERA*, or, the *Limitation and Succession of the CROWN of ENGLAND explained and asserted*, &c. This Piece was dedicated to the most noble *John Duke of Newcastle*; and in his *Epistle Dedicatory*, he acquaints us that
it

it was written, first, to convince our own People of their future Safety against Popery and Arbitrary Power; and that King WILLIAM not only made us a freer Nation than he found us, but also raised our LIBERTY to a Degree scarce to be exceeded by all his Successors. Secondly, to show all Persons both at Home and Abroad, that the Proceedings of the Parliament on this Occasion, were agreeable to the Principles of Justice, and the Ends of all good Government, as well as according to the constant Practice of this Kingdom. And thirdly, to acquaint the House of HANOVER with the true Nature of their Title, and the Frame of that Government to which they were to succeed; what Confidence our People reposed in their Virtues from King WILLIAM'S Recommendation; how alive they may command the Love of their Subjects, and when dead enjoy the Veneration of all Posterity. He begins the Work itself with laying down, 1st, The true Principles of Civil Society. 2dly, Gives us, An Idea of Arbitrary Power. 3dly, shows, The Genius of Free Governments. And 4thly, Thus beautifully describes The Liberty and Government of England.—“Of the ‘Free Governments at this Time, and for ‘some Hundreds of Years past, this of ‘England is one of the most considerable.
‘ Its

‘ Its Populoufness, Commerce, Wealth,
‘ Politeness, Power, and Reputation, is
‘ wholly owing to *Liberty*. For the Soil
‘ and Situation of some other Countries
‘ are indisputably preferable, and *England*
‘ stood in the same Place when JULIUS
‘ CÆSAR discovered it, possess’d by a naked
‘ and savage People, with painted Skins, a
‘ Community of Wives, having only Boggs
‘ and Woody Fastnesses for Cities and For-
‘ tifications, and without any better offen-
‘ sive or defensive Weapons than most of
‘ the wildest *Americans*. But our *Liberty*,
‘ since the first Foundation of it, has not
‘ continued always in the same Condition.
‘ Great and various have been the At-
‘ tempts to ruin it; and nevertheless, it
‘ has not only subsisted, while most Coun-
‘ tries of *Europe* are over-whelmed with
‘ a Deluge of *Tyranny*; but of late Years
‘ it has prodigiously increased, and seems
‘ at present to be arrived at a Height
‘ which wants very little of Perfection.
‘ Our Histories are full of the Contests be-
‘ tween the King, the Clergy, the Nobil-
‘ ity and Commons, about their several
‘ Powers and Privileges, with their mani-
‘ fold and dubious Successes. But at length,
‘ by an insensible Progress in part, and
‘ partly from Causes visible to every Eye,
‘ the Over-balance of *Property* (and conse-
‘ quently of *Power*) fell into the Scale of
‘ the

‘ the Commons, where it seems to be now
 ‘ wholly fixed, and according to which the
 ‘ Government is in a manner new model-
 ‘ led (yet by unobserved Degrees) tho the
 ‘ antient Names and Customs generally
 ‘ continue the same.’ He then goes on to
 show what upon a former Occasion he
 advanced, that all the Attempts of *our*
Kings to grasp at an Arbitrary and Un-
limited Power, as the only Means to keep
their People in Subjection, and to secure
their own Authority, was a fatal and
mistaken Policy, as appeared by the
Event. ‘ I shall not mention, *says he,*
 ‘ what Progress was made by the Kings
 ‘ of the *Scottish* Race in this impious and
 ‘ accursed Design, nor the treacherous
 ‘ Assistance they received from several
 ‘ Orders of Men amongst us, who de-
 ‘ pended on their *Liberality* or *Power*;
 ‘ neither will I revive the odious Me-
 ‘ mory of those monstrous, absurd, and
 ‘ abominable Doctrines which were then
 ‘ coined, publicly spread with the grea-
 ‘ test Absurdity, and under the most aw-
 ‘ ful Impressions, to infect the Under-
 ‘ standings of the People, and to make
 ‘ them eternal Slaves by their own Con-
 ‘ currence as well as Consent.’ He adds,
 That he will *not insist on these or the like*
Miscarriages, but discourse on the Hap-
piness of our Condition at that Time;
 E which

which he does, by shewing the great *Miseries* we escaped in bringing about the late *Glorious Revolution*; assuring all the Lovers of their Country, 'That no King
' can ever be so good as one of their own
' making; as there is no Title equal to
' their Approbation, which, *says he*, is
' the only *Divine Right* of all *Magi-*
' *stracy*, for the VOICE of the PEOPLE, is
' the VOICE of GOD*.' The rest of the Book being taken up chiefly with recounting the *Proceedings in Parliament* upon that *important Occasion*, and the *Publick Rumours* from thence arising; I therefore recommend a thorough Perusal of it to all those who would willingly see the *Laws* and *Liberties* of their Country set in a *just Light*.

We must now, *my Lord*, regard Mr. *Toland* as a Traveller, for in the Year 1702, we find him at *Berlin*, from whence in a Letter dated *August 18. N. S.* to a Friend at the *Hague*, he communicates * *Some Remarks on the King of Prussia's Country, on his Government, his Court, and his numerous Houses.*

I must first, *says he*, satisfy the last Question you were pleased to propose to

* See *Anglia Libera*, &c. pag. 17.

† See his Account of the Courts of *Prussia* and *Hannover*, pag. 2. & seq.

me, why the Inns and Publick Houses of Entertainment, on the great Roads in *Westphalia*, and some other Parts of *Germany*, are so ill provided with Beds, Provisions, and most things for accommodating Travellers and Strangers? The Reason of it is, that the Country is not near so well peopled, nor the Ways so much frequented by Passengers, as in *England* and *Holland*.

Now in these Parts of *Germany*, the Country not being peopled a fifth part, there being little or no Trade, and very few Travellers, there is not a prospect of Gain enough to make the Innkeepers furnish their Houses with Beds or Utenfils, nor to lay up any store of good Provisions, nor ever to dress a bit of Meat beforehand; so that a Man is very happy if he meets with clean Straw whereon to sleep, without expecting Sheets or Coverings; and he has no great reason to complain, if he gets any thing to eat, tho without the Service of Plates, Forks, or Napkins. He must be content to have the Cows, Swine and Poultry for his Fellow-Lodgers, and to go *in* at the same Passage that the Smoak comes *out*, for there is no other vent for it but the Door; which makes Foreigners commonly say, that the People in *Westphalia* enter their Houses by the Chimney. But as to the

badness of their Entertainment, I must add, that the People of Condition who travel are very uncertain, having Relays of their own; and that those, who go by the Post-Waggons, are seldom at much Expence. But were there as many People on the Road, or that their Arrival were any thing regular, I make no manner of doubt, but that in proportion they would be as well treated as with us; which really happens in all parts of *Germany*, where the Country is more populous, or more frequented. But whether this mighty want of People, and consequently of all the Fruits of Industry, be owing to the badness of the Country, which yet is not the worst I ever saw, for 'tis a much richer Soil and better watered than *Scotland*; or whether it be owing to the arbitrary Administration of the Governours, who neither have any Concern for the Ease and Welfare of their Subjects, nor consequently any true Knowledge of Traffick, Improvement of Land, or Political Oeconomy: which of these, I say, or whether any of them be the Cause, I will not determine.

Having come to *Berlin* this Year by the way of *Hamburg*, as the last Year from *Hanover*; and having seen not only *Halberstadt*, *Magdenburgh*, and *Braun-*
denburgh

denburgh on the one Side, but likewise several smaller Cities, Boroughs, and numberless Villages on the one and the other Side; I presently took notice, that (besides the Ways) all the Churches, as well of the Country as of the Towns, were kept in so good a repair as I never saw the like, being most of them newly whitened, or adorned in some other manner; the Church-yards being inclosed with durable Walls of Stone or Brick, the Gates generally large, and many new Steeples raised, not inferiour to the *old ones*: but whether in being lately built from the Ground, or in being repaired and beautified, I could not remark one Church that was defective in any thing. You may perceive, by this Instance, how great a regard the King of *Prussia* has to the Beauty of Publick Buildings, no less than for the Conveniencies of Publick Worship.

Excepting the Places about the Capital City of *Berlin* (which is situated in a very Sandy Territory, and too much covered with Woods) the Country is at least twice as well Peopled, and in many Parts a great deal more than *Westphalia*. The City of *Berlin*, which is indifferently spacious, but extremely fine, is divided into two principal Parts; whereof the first, which is the Old Town, is again subdivided

vided into three Wards, namely, *Berlin*, *Colen* and the *Werder*. The New Town, which is likewise begun to be fortified, is one part of it called *Frederickstadt*, and the other part *Dorothéestadt*, from the Names of the late Elector and Electress; so that the whole City consists of five Wards, not to mention the Suburbs. The Streets are very large and noble, and planted in most parts of the Town with Rows of Trees. There are fine Canals that cross and separate the several Wards, with Draw-Bridges after the Model of those in *Holland*. The New Houses are mostly built after the best Taste of Architecture; the few Old Houses that remain, being in *no* respect to be compared with *them*.

There are in this City, many things worthy the Curiosity of Strangers. In the Palace is a Library, the Books well chosen and numerous; yet it wants much of being equal to the Library at *Wolfembuttel*. Near to the Royal Library is a Cabinet of Rarities, containing many wonderful Effects of Nature and Art, such as are not easily seen in other Courts; to which must be joined his Majesty's curious Collection of Medals, of which the Particulars may be found in Monsieur *Berger's Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*. The Moderns have produced nothing that exceeds

exceeds the Equestrian Statue, which, by order of the King, is elevated to the Honour of his Illustrious Father, on the fine Bridge of square Stone, which his Majesty has caused to be built over a Branch of the *Spre*. The Man and the Horse are one entire Piece, which was cast at once; it weighs Three Thousand Quintals of Metal, and cost Forty Thousand Crowns. The Pedestrian Statue for his Majesty resembles him very much, erected in the *Area* of the *Arsenal*, in the Quarter called the *Werder*. It is a massy square Building, where Architecture and Expencc, where Convenience and Ornament have not been dealt by a scanty Hand,, and it is stored with very fair Pieces of Artillery, and other Arms, which are kept in good Order.

Near to the *Arsenal* is a *Shuice*, formerly of Timber, but now wholly of wrought Stone, and accompanied with a large wet *Dock*, which may well be called the Port of *Berlin*, by reason of the great Number of Vessels that are seen constantly there, either going up or coming down, without reckoning the Boats of the City; for this River is joined by an artificial Canal to the *Oder*, so that there is a free Navigation for small Craft, from *Silesia* a cross all *Germany*, till the *Spre* empties

empties itself into the *Havel*; and till this last flows at *Havelberg* into the *Elbe*, whereby it communicates itself with the Ocean.

All the Dominions of his *Prussian* Majesty, as well Inland as Maritime, are excellently watered with Navigable Rivers, as the *Rhine*, the *Maese*, the *Weser*, the *Elbe*, the *Hagel*, the *Havel*, the *Werter*, the *Oder*, the *Vistula*, the *Pregel*, and several others. Besides that his Kingdom of *Prussia*, and his Dutchy of *Pomerania*, take up a great part of the Coast of the *Baltick Sea*, and lie extremely convenient for Traffick, as they drive a pretty considerable one, which by right Management might be vastly improved.

But to return to *Berlin*; there is near the Wall of the Town a stately Amphitheatre, for the fighting and baiting of *Bears*, *Lions*, *Bulls*, *Urochsen*, which are the *Uri* of the Ancients, and of other wild and fierce Beasts, of which a good Number is always kept underneath in Dens. The Stables in the New Town may be properly called magnificent; they are divided into two Courts, and nine Pavillions, in equal Distances. Overhead is the Academy of the Painters, of the Learned, and of all the genteel Arts which are much encouraged here; and there is likewise raised a conspicuous Obser-

Observatory for Astronomers. Now of all the Curiosities of *Berlin*, the Principal, is the New *Royal Palace*; no Building can be more exact, commodious, or stately: some other Palaces of *Europe* may be more capacious, but then they are less regular. The Citizens, in imitation of the Father of their Country, go on with New Buildings every Day in all Quarters of the Town; and the great Number of Houses which his Majesty builds in several Places for his own Use, but especially in the Neighbourhood of *Berlin*, will, in a few Years, make it one of the finest Cities that can be seen.

For a particular Description of the King of *Prussia's Houses*, the Characters of that *Royal Family*, the Magnificence of his Court at *Berlin*, and the Regulation of his *Militia*, I must refer to the Work above cited*.

Mr. Toland concludes his *first Letter*, with the following Account of a Treatise published by him, during King *William's* Life, intitled, *The Militia Reformed*, &c. shewing how all our Country, and especially our *Garisons*, would not only be secure during the absence of our Re-

* An Account of the Court of *Prussia*, from pag. 26. to pag. 39.

gular Troops, but that, in case of need, we might recruit, or reinforce *them* by some of *these*: “Whereas such Princes
 “ (*says he*) as have but their ordinary
 “ Troops, are in danger of being ruined
 “ by the loss of one Battle, not being
 “ in a Condition for a long time to bring
 “ such another Army into the Field;
 “ while those who exercise their *Militia*
 “ have perpetual Resources of able Men,
 “ who already understand the *Theory*,
 “ and will quickly learn the *Practice*;
 “ as I have proved by the Examples of
 “ the ancient *Greeks and Romans*.”

From *Berlin*, Sept. 23. N. S. 1702. he communicates to the same Friend, in a *second* Letter, the following Account of *Hanover*. He first acquaints him, that in his way from *Holland* to *Hanover*, the Year before, there occurred nothing remarkable; but that between the City of *Berlin* and *Hanover*, he was much affected with beholding the Ruins of that once Imperial, populous, large and free City *Brunswick*; and very pathetically laments the Causes of its Decay.

He tells us, * *Hanover* is situated in a sandy Soil, upon the River *Laine*, which is navigable only by small Boats. It is

* See, An Account of the Court of *Hanover*, from p. 52. to p. 78.

regularly fortified, and divided into the New and Old Towns; the Apartments of the Palace are very fine, and richly furnished. It was in old Time a large Monastery, but so well Metamorphosed since, that no Footsteps remain of the Original. There is a pretty Theatre with handfom Boxes, for all Qualities; for no body pays Money that goes to a Play there, the Prince being at all the Expence to entertain the Town as well as the Court. But the Opera-House in the Castle is visited as a Rarity by all Travellers, as being the best painted, and the best contrived in all *Europe*. The Elector's Chapel is also finely painted, and certainly nothing can be in greater Order and Method than whatever belongs to his Highness. The Court in general is extremely Polite, and even in *Germany* it is accounted the best, both for Civility and Decorum. The Vice of Drinking (for which that Nation is so much branded) is so far from reigning here, that tho' no body is abridged of his Pleasure in this Respect, yet I never knew greater Sobriety, nor a more exact Government in a private Family.—The Clergy seldom appear at Court either at *Hanover*, or *Berlin*: The Ornaments of the Altar in the Electoral Chapel are very fine, and all the Work of the late Princess *Sophia*.

Hernhausen is a Country House about an *English* Mile and a half from *Hanover*. The Garden is indeed delicate, the Water-Works great and noble, the Basons and Fountains extremely large, the Wilderness curiously contrived, and decked with a perpetual Verdure; the Walks are made firm with a sort of Gravel they get out of the River; the Orangery is counted one of the largest in all *Europe*; there are beautiful Cascades, and there is a perfect Theatre excellently cut out into green Seats, the Dressing-Rooms for the Actors being so many Bowers and Summer-Houses on each side, the whole set off with many fine Statues, most of them gilt, and an excellent Water-Work just behind. In fine, If the ancient *Romans* could return again to the World, they would be amazed to find Barbarism overspread all their beloved *Italy*, while the Arts and Sciences flourish in the midst of *Germany*, which in their time was little else but immense Forests and Marshes, the Receptacles of a savage and unpolished People, tho' warlike, brave and free. Mr. *Toland* concludes with observing to his Friend the grossness of a Calumny, at that Time set on foot by his Adversaries in *England*, that he had been Banished from the Courts of *Prussia* and *Hanover*; and that as to this latter Court, as well as of the

the *Royal Family*, in strict Justice he could give no other Account than he had done.

To the Account of the Courts of *Prussia* and *Hanover*, is subjoined the *Ordinances, Statutes, and Privileges* of the *Royal Academy*, erected by his Majesty the late King of *Prussia*, in his Capital City of *Berlin*. From which FOUNDATION, says Mr. Toland, "What a happy
"Opportunity is there given of restoring
"Learning to itself, stript from all the
"Disguises of Pedantry, Jargon, and
"Chimeras, and freed from the servile
"Fetters of Systems, common Places,
"childish Ceremonies, and ridiculous
"Habits! The Prince of Orators, the
"freest Philosopher, the most accomplish-
"ed Gentleman, and the Supreme Ma-
"gistrate of the greatest Empire that ever
"existed; in one word, *Cicero* will
"herein be my Example and Voucher,
"who is not ashamed to own, that the
"Instruction of the *Roman* Youth was
"the main End of those immortal Wri-
"tings he has left behind him." * *For*

* Quod enim munus Reipublicæ asferre majus meliusve possumus, quam si docemus atque erudimus Juventutem? his præsertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapsa est, ut omnium opibus refraganda ac coerenda sit, &c. *De Divinatione*, &c. l. xi. c. 2.

what greater or better Gift, says he, can we confer on the Commonwealth, than if we teach and instruct the Youth? Especially considering the present Manners and Times, wherein they are so corrupted, that all should join their Endeavours to restrain and reform them, &c. "His Prussian Majesty has the
 "Happiness to contrive, and likewise to
 "perform, what the Roman Consul could
 "only wish, or imperfectly endeavour, in
 "that corrupt and declining State of his
 "Country, when the Persons and Authority of good Men were exposed to
 "Contempt and Danger; and that it was
 "the Interest of prevailing Wickedness,
 "to make all Men whatsoever as bad as
 "the very worst of the most perfidious,
 "debauched, and ambitious Citizens;
 "those detestable Betrayers of their Honour and Liberty, who, by a prodigious Reverse of Nature, did vilely become
 "the Slaves of their Servants, and the
 "Equals of their Slaves."

These Institutions of the King of Prussia's Royal Academy, are well worthy the Perusal of the Curious; and as Mr. Toland sent them, by way of Present, to a particular Friend in the Country, I shall close this Head with the agreeable Description he gives in his Letter (prefixed to them) of a Rural Retirement.
 "Those

“Those various Pleasures (says he) the
 “Country yields, must certainly be the
 “most solid, because they are the most
 “innocent and safe. There, all Business
 “is Recreation, as all Diversion is Profit-
 “table: and as it was ever accounted the
 “fittest Scene for Retirement, Reading,
 “and Contemplation; so it is the only
 “Place where we can have a true Relish
 “of Select Company.—O happy Times
 “of ancient *Rome*! when her Consuls
 “were taken from the Pruning-Hook,
 “and her Dictators from the Plough;
 “when the most delicious Fare of her
 “greatest Senators were the unbought
 “Dainties of their own Grounds, the
 “welcome Rewards of their Industry or
 “Care: and when her conquering Ge-
 “nerals, instead of growing rich by the
 “War abroad, or plundering the publick
 “Stock at home, were solicitous to be
 “recalled (like *Attilius Regulus*) to cul-
 “tivate their moderate Farms for the
 “Support of themselves and their Fa-
 “milies.”

The chief Motive I had, *my Lord*,
 for inserting this Passage, was to let the
 Publick into Mr. Toland's true Taste,
 who was so far from aiming at the Man
 of Bustle, that in many places of his
 Writings he has frankly declared, That,
 for

for *this sort of Life* he ever had a strong Inclination.

The next Piece in the same Volume, your Lordship will find to be the *Declaration* of the Elector *Palatine* * in favour of his *Protestant Subjects*. Mr. Toland, in his Introduction, informs us, that many worthy *Patriots* were truly concerned, that the Glory of such a Prince should be tarnished in any degree, with the invidious Character of being a *Persecutor*; "and I confess (*says he*) that this " Consideration did sway with me above " all other Motives, to examine the Circumstances of this Affair." He first recites *Three very signal Services* the *Electör* rendered at different Times to the *Common Cause* of *Europe*. The first of these was raising the Siege of *Rhynfeltz* in the Year 1695. The next was in the beginning of the late War, by his so timely seizing on the Boats of the Bridge, and other Materials, which the Enemy intended to lay over the *Rhine* at *Keyserswerdt*, for the Passage of their Army under the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Mareschal de Boufflers*, who had resolved to march strait forward to *Utrecht*, and so to force the States to

* *John William*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Elector of the Holy Empire, Duke of *Bavaria*, &c.

accept of a Peace ; which had disconcerted all the Measures of the *Allies*, and laid *Europe* before this Time in Chains. The last is, that when the *Dutch* Troops were seized and made Prisoners of War in the great Towns of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, the Elector marched his Troops out of his own Territories, which were exposed to the Enemies Fury, into the most important Frontier of *Maestricht*, then without a sufficient Garrison : A Benefit the States will never forget.

The Publication of an entire Liberty of Conscience, was the first Step that the Elector made to ease and satisfy his Subjects; and to demonstrate his readiness to accept all reasonable Conditions, came to a Resolution of having this Affair adjusted at his own Court by his proper *Ministers*, and by those who were deputed for that end by his Majesty the King of *Prussia*, to avoid the usual dilatory Proceedings of the *Diet*, which gave small hopes of any speedy Accommodation. His *Electoral Highness* was not deceived in his Judgment herein; and perceiving what Progress was made in this *Treaty* in so little a time, principally by his own personal Care and Application, he did by his *Ministers* both at *London* and the *Hague*.

invite Queen *Anne* and the *States-General*, to send thither the (late) Earl *Stanhope*, and *Mynbeer van Ghent*, that it might be brought to a Conclusion with the greatest Honour and Solemnity possible: but these Ministers were eased of that trouble, by the succeeding of the Accommodation sooner than was expected, on *Nov. 21. 1705.*

This, my Lord, is a succinct History of the Matter of Fact, as punctually as I could extract it from his Observations. It must be owned, that the *Protestants* in general are under a most sensible Obligation to his *Electoral Highness*, who came to an Agreement so advantageous to the Protestant Religion, as will demonstrably be proved by the Declaration it self. And I dare say your Lordship will allow, that the Elector has experienced the good Effects of this equitable Proceeding, both in the peopling of his Countries, which of consequence makes him Rich and Powerful, and in the Affection of his Subjects, whose Obedience is not half so well secured by any Set of *Notions* or *Doctrines* (be they what they will) as by *wholesome Laws*, and an *impartial Administration.*

Your Lordship will find an Account of many useful *Political Sentiments*, in a Treatise written by Mr. *Toland*, intituled,
The

The Art of Governing by Parties. This Piece is Dedicated to King *William*; and he assures his Majesty, 'That the chief Aim of the Author was to do the most acceptable Service to his Country at that critical Juncture, (*Anno 1701.*)' In the Work itself is considered, First, The great Influence of *Party-Concerts* in *Religion*; under which Article he very judiciously enforces an Observation made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in a Speech to the House of Lords, * *viz.* 'It is certainly, says that Noble Peer, a very uneasy kind of Life to any Man, that has either Christian-Charity, Good-Nature or Humanity, to see his Fellow-Subjects daily abused, divested of their Liberties and Birth-Rights, and miserably thrown out of their Possessions and Freeholds, only because they cannot agree with some others in Opinions and Niceties of Religion, to which their Consciences will not give them leave to assent, and which, even by the Consent of those who would impose them, are no way necessary to Salvation.' From a just pursuit of this Argument, he proceeds, Secondly, To the Trick of dividing the Laity in their

* See, *The Art of Governing by Parties*, pag. 16,

Politicks. 'It will be thought strange,
 'says he, that in our admirable Con-
 'stitution, any Persons should be found
 'endeavouring to strip themselves of
 'their Liberty, and to leave all their
 'Posterity enslaved; yet Experience will
 'not let us doubt that there is any thing
 'so absurd, into which some may not be
 'cheated or corrupted *. He concludes
 with this Remark, That whenever our
 Nation *was divided in their Politicks,*
the different Parties have been played
off one against another, the better to
subdue or destroy them †. Thirdly, The
 Parliament next falls under his Con-
 sideration; in which August Assembly,
 he avers it is a known Maxim, *That we*
can never be destroyed but by their
Counsels. 'Such Princes therefore as
 'aimed at Despotick Power, left no
 'Stone unturned to get a Parliament to
 'their Mind, knowing this to be the
 'certain means of pulling down our Con-
 'stitution at once: for the People have
 'such a Veneration for the Sanctions of
 'their Parliaments, and are so sensible
 'of the Protection they have always re-
 'ceived from them, that they think it
 'almost impossible they should mistake

* Ibid. pag. 34.

† Ibid. pag. 55.

‘ their true Interest, much less be guilty
 ‘ of such Ingratitude and Treachery, as
 ‘ to join in any base Designs against those
 ‘ who honoured them with being their
 ‘ Representatives.’ Tho King *Charles* the
Second, had very nigh accomplished by
Parties, Places and Pensions, what all
 the Sleight or Force of his Predecessors
 could never compass *. Fourthly, As
 for the *Bench*, ‘ You may learn, *says he*,
 ‘ the *Equity* of the *Royal Brothers*,
 ‘ (King *Charles* II. and King *James* II.)
 ‘ from the *Decrees* of their *Chancellors*,
 ‘ who were the Keepers of their Con-
 ‘ science. They culled out for their Pur-
 ‘ pose the most stupid, immoral and illi-
 ‘ terate they could rake out of the Inns
 ‘ of Court, and most of them were a
 ‘ Scandal to their Profession. The few
 ‘ honest Gentlemen they promoted at any
 ‘ time, to gain some Countenance to the
 ‘ rest, could do nothing to their Minds;
 ‘ and, if likely to live, were soon laid
 ‘ aside, as were all those who in any Case
 ‘ showed the least respect for the Laws,
 ‘ tho in other Matters they had gone ever
 ‘ so far. Thus was Justice made a meer
 ‘ Property, to be bought and sold, and
 ‘ all Judgments given according to Di-

* Ibid, pag. 57.

' rections from Court. They were rather
 ' *Parties* on the Bench than indifferent
 ' Judges, threatening, and scurrilously a-
 ' busing the Prisoners brought before them,
 ' or such as appeared on their Behalf.
 ' They spared no Man's Blood which the
 ' King or his Ministers had a mind to
 ' spill, or made any Bones of giving Judg-
 ' ment against all the Charters of the King-
 ' dom *.' Fifthly, He very freely declares,
 that the Spring, Management and Re-
 fuge of all *Party-making* and Factions,
 centers in the Ministers of State. Then
 shows the ill Effects of *Parties* on the
 People in general, the King in particular,
 and on all our Foreign Affairs. Proving
 in the End, That the only *Remedy* a-
 gainst all the *Mischief* of *Parties*, is a
Parliament equally constituted,

In the Year 1707, your *Lordship* will
 find published by Mr. Toland, a pretty
 large Treatise, in *English* and *Latin*,
 intitled, A *Philippick Oration* to incite
 the *English* against the *French*; but espe-
 cially to prevent the treating of a *Peace*
 with *them* too soon after *they* are
 beaten, &c. In a *Preliminary Dissert-*
ation † to this *Piece*, he informs us,

* Ibid. pag. 83. & seq.

† Ibid. pag. 2, 6, 9, 10, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 40,
 & seq.

First, *That it is a Magnificent Encomium upon the English Nation and Government, that the Writer of it was a Foreigner*: And the better to understand the occasion of Writing it, we must know (*says he*) that in the Year of Christ, 1508, Maximilian Emperor of Germany, Ferdinand King of Arragon, and Administrator of Castile, Lewis the XIIth King of France, and Julius the II^d, Pope of Rome, made a League against the *Venetians* by their Agents at *Cambray*: and that the *Venetians*, the following Year, losing the fatal Battle of *Ghiaradadda*, lost also their whole Territories on the Continent, which were seized and shared by these several Potentates. Some fatal Differences which arose between these *Princes*, continued from the Year 1509, to 1514, when at length a *Peace* was concluded between them. After which, when it was found in good earnest, by *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, that our King *Henry VIII.* hearkened to the Agents and Emisseries of *France*, to which he was not a little disposed by the Wants or Inconstancy of the former, and the repeated Treacheries of the latter, they set all Engines at work to traverse the Negotiation. It was at that time, and for this very purpose, that the *Oration* was composed; it is addressed to the
Privy-

Privy-Council, but the *Peace* having been suddenly concluded, it could not afterwards be safely published, by reason it is provided in the very *Treaty*, that no Writing shall be suffered to come abroad reflecting on either Nation, their Princes, or Confederates.

It is to be observ'd, *my Lord*, that tho *Mr. Toland* published this *Speech* as the Work of an uncertain Author, yet *he declares* that *he should sooner suspect* Matthew Schiner, *Bishop and Cardinal of Sion*, than any other, he being stiled by *Jovius*, a Man of a terrible Genius, and extraordinary Eloquence; and *Mezeray* owns, that *He moved the Switzers, as the Wind does the Leaves of Trees*. *Jovius* in his *Elogies* says, *That he himself had heard Francis the First affirm*, 'That the invincible
' Force of the Cardinal of *Sion's* Elo-
' quence cost him more Treasure, and
' occasioned him more Fear, than the
' pointed Spears of so many Legions from
' the same Nation.' *A glorious Testimony generously rendered to his wonderful Ability, from so learned and martial a Prince!* Now therefore (*says Mr. Toland*) considering his Antipathy to the *French*, his Affection for the Cause of the *Emperor*, his Power with the *Switzers*, his Intercourse with *England*, and especially considering his Polite Learning and In-
comparable

comparable Eloquence, I confess I cannot help persuading myself that this *Oration* was of his Writing. It better agrees with his Character and Designs, than with *any other* then living. But I shall detain your Lordship no longer from the Pleasure of perusing the *Oration* itself, than only to lay before you a Transcript of the very remarkable and just Account of the Posture of our Affairs in *Europe* from its Dedication; viz. *To Queen Anne, the Pious, the Fortunate, the Triumphant, by whose Councils, Arms, and Treasure (bravely assisted by the Dutch) the French, with their Allies, are Vanquished, the Dignity of the Austrian-Family in Germany, and their Title in Spain asserted, Italy and Flanders restored to Liberty, and the Britons crowned with Immortal Glory: This Oration, formerly designed against the French, but now at last most Seasonably employed, (being an exact Pattern, and a just Encomium of her Glorious Administration) is most humbly and dutifully consecrated, by John Toland.*

We must now, *my Lord*, change this Scene of *Eloquence*, to take a View of the *Theological Writings* of Mr. Toland. I shall begin first with that Piece which set the whole Body of the *Clergy*, and the ignorant part of the *Laity* in Battle-
H Array

Array against him. This, your Lordship will easily perceive to be the *Treatise* intituled—*Christianity not Mysteries*: Shewing, *That there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, nor above it: And that no Christian Doctrine can be properly called a Mystery.* In the Preface to this Piece *, Mr. Toland declares the Design of it to be no other, than to *rectify the narrow bigotted Tenets of Some, and the most impious Maxims of Others.* He thus proceeds, ‘ That the
 ‘ mistaken Unbeliever may not say I
 ‘ serve a Hypothesis in the Defence of
 ‘ my Faith, like some who first imagine
 ‘ or receive an Opinion, and then study
 ‘ Proofs to establish it; I solemnly declare
 ‘ the thing is much otherwise, and that
 ‘ I hold nothing as an Article of my Religion, but what the highest Evidence
 ‘ forced me to Embrace. For being educated from my Cradle †, in the grossest
 ‘ Superstition and Idolatry, God was
 ‘ pleased to make my own Reason, and
 ‘ such as made use of Theirs, the happy
 ‘ Instruments of my Conversion.—Now
 ‘ the best Method, I think, of communicating to others the Truth, is that by

* Pag. 7.

† Mr. Toland was born at London-Derry, where, tho’ near two thirds of the Inhabitants are Presbyterians, yet he was bred a Papist,

‘which a Man has *learnt it himself*||.’ And he very frankly concludes his Preface in these Words; ‘I have no Apprehension (*says he*) from the Sincere; ‘and if the Designing Party discover ‘their Concern by their Displeasure, it ‘may well serve for a Mark to distinguish them, but will not be thought ‘an Injury by me.’ Having thus represented to your *Lordship* the Design of this *Work* in the Words of the *Author*, I shall in the next Place produce the Sentiments of two very eminent Men concerning the *Author*, and the Usage he met with for the *Work* itself.

This Piece made a great Noise in the *Republick of Letters*, and was attacked by several very considerable Pens*. For in that *agreeable Correspondence* between Mr. *Molyneux* and Mr. *Locke*, the former of these Gentlemen writes thus; † ‘I am ‘told the Author of *Christianity not ‘Mysterious*, is of this Country, and ‘that his Name is *Toland*, but he is a ‘Stranger in these parts; I believe if he ‘belongs to this Kingdom, he has been a ‘good while out of it, for I have not

|| Preface, pag. 8, 9.

* Bishop *Stillingsfleet*, Dr. *Peter Browne*, Bishop of *Cork*, &c.

† See, *Some Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke, and several of his Friends*, 8vo. pag. 188, to pag. 237.

‘heard of any such *remarkable Man*
‘amongst us.’ And in his very next Letter to Mr. *Locke*, he thus farther proceeds,
— ‘Honoured Sir, In my last to you,
‘there was a Passage relating to the Author of *Christianity not Myste-
‘rious*. I did not then think that he was so near
‘me, as within the Bounds of this City;
‘but I find since, that he is come over
‘thither, and have had the favour of a Visit
‘from him. I now understand (as I intimated to you) that he was born in this
‘Country, but that he has been a great
‘while abroad, and his Education was,
‘for some time, under the great *Le Clerc*.
‘But that for which I can never honour
‘him too much, is his Acquaintance and
‘Friendship to you, and the Respect,
‘which, on all occasions, he expresses for
‘you. I propose a great deal of Satisfaction in his Conversation; I take him
‘to be a *candid Free-Thinker, and a*
‘*good Scholar*. But there is a violent
‘sort of Spirit that reigns here, which
‘begins already to shew itself against
‘him; and, I believe, will increase daily,
‘for I find the Clergy alarmed to a mighty
‘degree against him. And last *Sunday*
‘he had his Welcome to this City, by
‘hearing himself harangued against out
‘of the Pulpit, by a Prelate of this Country.’ Mr. *Locke*, in his Answer to
Mr.

Mr. *Molyneux*, thus declares his Esteem for Mr. *Toland*, (notwithstanding upon a particular Occasion there had been a little Coldness between them) *For the Man I wish very well, and could give you, if it needed, Proofs that I do so. And therefore I desire you to be kind to him; but I must leave it to your Prudence, in what way, and how far.— For it will be his Fault alone, if he prove not a very valuable Man, and have not you for his Friend.* To this Mr. *Molyneux* was pleased to reply, *I look upon Mr. Toland as a very ingenious Man, and I should be very glad of any Opportunity of doing him Service, to which I think myself indispensibly bound by your Recommendation.* And this Gentleman, in another Letter to Mr. *Locke*, shortly after, gives the following Account of the vile Treatment Mr. *Toland* met with in Ireland. ‘He has had (says Mr. *Molyneux*) ‘his Opposers here, as you will find by ‘a Book which I have sent to you. The ‘*Author* † is my Acquaintance; but two ‘Things I shall never forgive in his ‘Book: the one is the foul Language ‘and opprobrious Names he gives Mr. ‘*Toland*; the other is, upon several Oc- ‘casions, calling in the Aid of the Civil ‘Magistrate, and delivering Mr. *Toland*

† The present Bishop of *Cork*.

' up to Secular Punishment. This indeed
 ' is a killing Argument; but some will
 ' be apt to say, That where the Strength
 ' of his Reason failed him, there he flies
 ' to the Strength of the Sword. And this
 ' minds me of a Business that was very
 ' surprizing to many, even several Pre-
 ' lates in this Place, the Presentment of
 ' some pernicious Books, and their Au-
 ' thors, by the Grand-Jury of *Middlesex*.
 ' This is looked upon as a Matter of dan-
 ' gerous Consequence, to make our Civil
 ' Courts Judges of Religious Doctrines;
 ' and no one knows, upon a Change of
 ' Affairs, whose turn it may be next to
 ' be condemned. But the Example has
 ' been followed in our Country; and Mr.
 ' *Toland*, and his Book, have been pre-
 ' sented here by a Grand-Jury, not *one of*
 ' *which*, I am persuaded, ever read *one*
 ' *Leaf* in *Christianity not Mysterious*.
 ' Let the *Sorbonne* for ever now be Silent;
 ' a learned Grand-Jury, directed by as
 ' learned a Judge, does the Business much
 ' better. The *Dissenters* here were the
 ' chief Promoters of this Matter; but, when
 ' I asked one of them, What if a violent
 ' *Church of England* *Jury* should present
 ' Mr. *Baxter's* Books, as pernicious, and
 ' condemn them to the Flames by the
 ' common Executioner? He was sensible
 ' of the Error, and said, *He wished it*
 ' *had*

'had never been done.' Mr. Locke, in his Answer to Mr. Molyneux concerning this Usage of *Authors*, thus expresses himself: *I think, with you, the Dissenters were best consider, That what is Sauce for a Goose, is Sauce for a Gander. But they are a sort of Men that will always be the same.*—— Not long after these Proceedings, my Lord, Mr. Molyneux, in another Letter to Mr. Locke, concludes his Account of our Author with the following melancholy Relation—— 'Mr. Toland is, at length, driven out of our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman at last wanted a Meal's Meat (as I am told) and (*the universal Outcry of the Clergy run so strong against him*) none would admit him to their Tables. The little Stock of Money which he brought into this Country being exhausted, he fell to borrowing, and to compleat his Hardships, the Parliament fell on his Book, voted it to be burnt by the common Hangman, and ordered the Author to be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General at Law. Hereupon he is fled out of this Kingdom, and none here knows where he has directed his Course. I did believe you might be a great while to come a Stranger to these Proceedings, unless I had intimated
' them

' them to you ; and that is one of my
 ' Designs in Writing this to you.' I
 have, *my Lord*, been the fuller in these
 Extracts, for two Reasons : *One* is, that
 I hope the Character herein given of *Mr.*
Toland, will, in some measure, convince
 the Publick that he was not a Person of
 such a superficial Knowledge and mean
 Abilities, as the Clergy would insinuate,
now he is no more ; and the *other* is, be-
 cause *Mr. Molyneux* concludes his Account
 of *Mr. Toland*, with doing Justice to the
 Merit of a Gentleman, to whose real
 Worth your Lordship is no Stranger.
 ' I am here (*says Mr. Molyneux to Mr.*
 ' *Locke*) very happy in the Friendship of
 ' an honourable Person, *Mr. Molesworth*,
 ' who is an hearty Admirer and Acquain-
 ' tance of yours. We never meet but we
 ' remember you ; he sometimes comes
 ' into my House, and tells me, 'tis not to
 ' pay a Visit to me, but to pay his Devo-
 ' tion to your Image that is in my Di-
 ' ning-Room.' And *Mr. Locke*, my Lord,
 expresses the due Sense he had of *this*
Esteem, in the following Words : ' I
 ' must beg you to return my Acknow-
 ' ledgments to *Mr. Molesworth*, in the
 ' civillest Language you can find, for the
 ' great Compliment you sent me from
 ' him. I have been not a little
 ' troubled, that I could not meet with
 ' the

'the Opportunities I sought to improve
'the Advantage I proposed to myself, in
'an Acquaintance with so ingenious and
'extraordinary a Man as he is *.

Thus, *my Lord*, having seen the *very partial* Treatment both *Mr. Toland* and his *Book* met with in *Ireland*; I am next to acquaint your *Lordship*, that during his *Retirement* from this *Persecution*, he offered an *Apology* by way of *Letter*, to a Member of the *House of Commons*, in that Kingdom; written the Day before his Book was resolved to be burnt by the *Committee of Religion*. This *Apology* he subjoined to the *Second Edition* of his *Christianity not Myste-rious*. In which *Apology*, after a recital of the Proceedings we have already been acquainted with from the incomparable Pen of *Mr. Molyneux*, it is observed that *Mr. Toland* being thus made a *Heresiarch*, occasioned every body to hunt for his Book, which was then very scarce; and his Enemies also took that Pretext of denominating all his Acquaintance *Tolandists*, how different soever they were from him, or one another in their Sentiments †. But lest the broaching of sim-

* See, *Mr. Locke's Letters*, *ut supra*, pag. 260.

† See, *An Apology for Mr. Toland*, pag. 7.

ple *Heresies* should not serve the Turn, Mr. Toland must by all means be made *the Head of a Sect*, and of no ordinary one; for if you credit one of his *Antagonists**, he designed to be *as famous an Impostor as Mahomet*. To confirm this Character, which was well enough invented to amuse the People with vain Terrors, there was a ridiculous Story handed about, that in the 14th Year of his Age, he gravely declared he would be the *Head of a Sect* e'er he was 30; and before he was 40, he should make as great a Stir in the Commonwealth as *Cromwell* ever did. This Legendary-Report, some laboured to fulfil in part, that superstitious Folks might trepidly apprehend the Event of the rest. For, says Mr. Brown, *The real Design of this Man is plainly no other, than what he formerly declared, and what he openly affects to be, the Head of a Sect* †. The succeeding Step to this, was to make Mr. Toland a *Jesuit*; and if so, says the *Apology*, he's certainly the most dangerous of the Order, and began extremely betimes. He was not sixteen Years old when he perceived, and renounced the

* Ibid. pag. 10, 11.

† Mr. Brown, (now Bishop of Cork.)

Errors of *Popery*; for in 1687, he went from *Redcastle* near *London-Derry*, to the College of *Glasgow* in *Scotland*; and, upon his Departure from it, the Magistrates of that City gave him *Recommendatory Letters*, wherein they took particular Notice of his Affection to the *Protestant Religion*. The Day before the memorable Battle of the *Boyne*, he was created *Master of Arts* at *Edinburgh*, and received the usual *Diploma* or *Certificate* from the *Professors*. After this, he went to the University of *Leiden* in *Holland*, to perfect his Studies; and upon his return from thence, spent some Time at *Oxford*, and at length came to *London*, where 'tis well known his Company and Conversation were the farthest in the World from being *Jesuitical*. Notwithstanding the whole Series of his Education, as well as his own Genius, did thus run in the most opposite Channel to *Popery*; yet in *Ireland* that malicious Report gained upon some few, because he happened to be brought up a *Papist* from his Childhood, which was no more an Action of his own, than that he was born there. The last Effort, except the Charge of *Socinianism*, to blast him, was to make him pass for a rigid *Nonconformist*; so his Countrymen treated him in this respect like his Majesty's good

Subjects of *Guernsey*, who, when they are in *France*, are called *English Rogues*, and in *England*, *French Dogs*.

Tho Mr. *Toland*, my Lord, did frequently with the utmost Pleasure acknowledge his *Renunciation of Popery*, yet he as freely declared that he never would condescend to court *any Body of Men* farther than he saw Ground for it; and to this Principle he resolv'd to adhere, tho it should hazard the inevitable Ruin of his Fortune or Reputation with all Parties. But so warm were the Zealots who ordered Mr. *Toland's* Book to be burnt, that one *Sanguin-Christian* averr'd, *the Author ought to be burnt with it*; another said, *He should be made to burn his Book with his own Hand*; and a third desired it should be done before the Door of the House, *that he might have the Pleasure of treading the Ashes under his Feet*. And accordingly, it underwent that Fate.

I forbear making any Remarks, either upon the Design of burning *Books* in general, or *This* in particular; nor will I shew, how fruitless this sort of Proceeding has prov'd in all Ages, since the Custom was first introduced by *Popish-Inquisitors*, who always performed Execution on the *Book* when they could not seize the *Author*, whom they had

had destined to the Flames. Neither will I insist upon the great Stop and Discouragement which this Practice brings to all Learning and Discoveries: but without farther Digression, I shall now submit it to your Lordship's Consideration, whether such Treatment can be thought Equitable, which reduces the Mind, as well as the Body, to the most abject Slavery.

From the Fury of the *Irish* House of Commons, Mr. Toland retired to *Holland*, and came from thence to *England* about two Years afterwards; upon his arrival here, (as he informs us in his * *Vindicius Liberus*, &c.) he heard that two † Books of his Composition were under the Consideration of a Committee of Convocation; upon which he sent the following Letter to the *Prolocutor*, either to give such Satisfaction as should induce them to stop their Proceedings, or desiring to be heard in his own Defence before they pass'd any Censure on his Writings.

* Pag. 13.

† I. *Christianity not Mystrious*. II. *Amyntor, or a Defence of Milton's Life*.

For the Reverend Dr. Hooper,
Dean of Canterbury, and Pro-
locutor of the Lower House of
Convocation.

Reverend Sir,

IN the Post, which you so deservedly supply, 'tis no wonder if you are often addressed by Persons (as I am) wholly unknown to you, tho' Fame has made me no Stranger to your great Learning and Moderation. I have been informed by several People, that the lower House of Convocation has ordered a Committee to examine what Books have been lately written or published against the Christian Religion and the three Creeds, or to this Effect; and that, among many others, two Pieces, whereof I am the Author, are now under their Consideration. That in those Books there may be some singular Opinions, and such as are not authorized by the common Approbation, I will not deny: for I had not only the same Liberty with all others of writing in a free Country, but might also make what new Discoveries I was able, to-
wards

wards the better understanding of Religion, of Law, of History, or any other Faculty. And indeed he trifles extremely with the World, who is not convinced, that, at least, he makes Things clearer than they were; if he explodes no vulgar Errors, detects no dangerous Fallacies, nor adds any stronger Light or Proof to what was generally received before. Those and such like are the real or pretended Motives of all Authors, of Divines as well as others; and they actually advance new Notions, Expositions, and Hypotheses in their Books every Day, without being decried for their Innovations, or suspected to undermine Religion. 'Tis not to be supposed therefore, that the Convocation is displeased with me for differing sometimes with others (which I can show the most eminent of their Members to have done) but for writing, as it's given out, against the Christian Religion or the Three Creeds. The Truth of this Charge I positively deny, or that there is Reason or Colour for it in any of my Books. Christianity not Mysteries cannot relate to the Three Creeds, since it does not treat particularly of any Article; notwithstanding that such as never saw it are made to believe it directly attacks the Trinity, and openly defends

defends the Socinian Principles, which the Author has always believed not only to be false, but also wholly groundless and ridiculous. As for the Christian Religion in general, that Book is so far from calling it in Question, that it was purposely written for its Service, to defend it against the Imputations of Contradiction and Obscurity, which are frequently objected by its Opposers. There is nothing blame-worthy in this Design, nor ought any Persons to be angry with me for professing that I understand the Christian Religion, how mysterious soever it may seem to them: and, I am sure, the better any Man comprehends a Thing, the more he has to say for it, and the greater Reasons to believe it. Some Passages in my Book, which were disputed, I have explained in an Apology apart: and were my Principle erroneous, or my Performance insufficient, yet my Intentions were Sound and Orthodox. As for Amyntor, every body knows how Mr. Blackall drew me in to write it, when no such Purpose had ever entered into my Head before. This Book consists of Matters of Fact, and some Observations on them. The Facts are all, or most of them, collected out of the Fathers of the Church, Men for whom the Clergy profess a great Veneration,
and

and the best Editions of their Works have been made or procured by Divines. What lies dispersed and scattered in those Volumes, is neither better nor worse, being extracted and laid together in their natural Order. But if the bare quoting of Facts be any Fault, I may pretend, I hope, to as good Quarter as Mr. Dodwell; not that I wou'd promote any Censure against that worthy Person, but that what is not reckoned amiss in him, may not be thought criminal in me. But the Facts, I may reasonably suppose, are not likely to be made an Objection to any body.; and I have even convinced my Adversaries, that by the Spurious Pieces, mentioned in Milton's Life, I did not mean any Books of the New Testament. 'Tis confessed, I have shown some Consequences which have been drawn from the pretended Sacred Books, of which I have given a Catalogue in Amyntor; but that I approve of them there or any where else, does by no means appear. On the contrary, in the 65th Page, I affirm, that it had much more become Mr. Blackall's Profession to appear better acquainted with these Things, and commendably to spend his Time in preventing the milchievous Inferences which Here-ticks may draw from hence, or to remove the Scruples of doubting but sin-

66 *The LIFE of*

cere *Christians*, than so publickly to vent his Malice against a Man that never injured him, &c. *And as to some Remains of the Apostles, which the Fathers thought unquestionably theirs, and whereof I had so favourable an Opinion as to offer some Arguments to prove them genuine; yet, in the 58th Page, I declare, that I shall not be too hasty to make a final Decision of this Matter with myself, lest I incur the dreadful Curse which the Author of the Revelation pronounces against such as shall add or take away from that Book. Let Mr. Blackall be assured, that, if he must needs have me to be a Heretick, I am not unteachable; tho I would not have it reputed Obstinacy, if I should not surrender without satisfactory Reasons. Instead therefore of Censuring and Calumniating (which ought not to be reckoned Virtues in any Order of Men, and least of all in the Ministers of the Gospel) let such as are better enlightened endeavour to extricate the Erroneous out of these or the like Difficulties, &c. This is what I thought necessary to suggest in general concerning those two Pieces of mine, which have been made the Occasion of so much Noise. I was but five and twenty Years old when I wrote the first, which ought to be excuse enough for any*
unadvised

unadvised Expressions; and the last I was plainly forced to publish in my own Vindication, having been openly traduced to the Honourable House of Commons. For many important Reasons I have firmly resolved never hereafter to intermeddle in any Religious Controversies; but to keep myself (as now I am) very easy and contented; provided always I be not constrained (as before) to write in my just Defence, which I shall think myself more obliged to do in relation to the Animadversions of a publick Body, than against any private Person, how considerable soever. There is nothing less equitable or more ineffectual than condemning of Books by Wholesale, without assigning the particular Places which contradict Religion, the Laws, or good Manners. I could easily shew the ill Effects of such Proceedings in Convocations and other Ecclesiastick Assemblies in all Ages, were I not sure that you understand the History of these Things much better than I can pretend to do. I have collected occasionally in my Reading, such Passages as relate to the expunging, castrating, suppressing, burning, or other Ways of censuring Books among the Heathens, Jews, Christians and Mahometans: And were such Materials digested into a Volume on this Subject, to

represent the Matter at one View to the Reader, the World would be astonish'd at most of the Circumstances; which convinces me, that the less of this is practis'd, the better it is, and more for the Honour of Religion. This I say not with Regard to myself, being prepared for whatever happens; but were it becoming me to advise a Person so much my Superiour in all respects, I would desire you to countenance as little as may be against others, a Thing which has all the Appearance of Severity to make the Party odious that use it, and none of the intended Effects to reconcile or intimidate, but rather to provoke their Enemies. There are other Methods more just and reasonable to secure the Established Religion, of which I own myself a Member, as finding it, after due Consideration, to be the best in the World, tho in many Respects coming short of Perfection. It will not be long before I have Opportunity to acquaint the Publick with my Reasons for this Profession, both to undeceive those who are pleas'd to question my Religion in general, and because I adhered to no peculiar Society before, but only occasionally join'd with all Protestants indifferently, against the Superstition, Idolatry, and Tyranny of Popery. But
not

Mr. JOHN TOLAND. 69

not to digress, (when this Letter is but too prolix already) tho the Convocation pretends to no Authority over Men's Persons, yet, if you think fit to intimate your Desire of any farther Satisfaction in these Matters, I shall readily wait on you wherever you please to appoint me. In the mean Time, I hope you'll attribute nothing I have said to any greater Assurance, than what I ought to have of my own Innocence, and your Justice. If I have been misinformed about the Proceedings of your House, I beg pardon for giving you this Trouble; but if the Matter of Fact be true, I have done no more than is necessary. Wishing therefore a happy Conclusion to the Determinations of that Assembly, where you make the greatest Figure, I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Jo. Toland.

' To this Letter the *Prolocutor* was
' pleased to send me a short Answer;
' containing, That my Information was
' true about the Committee, and that
' they had come to some Resolutions
' about

‘ about my Book, which they were expected to report suddenly : That his Business was to manage the Debates of the House, and to moderate any Disputes that might arise about wording their Questions ; in which Cases, if he might be capable, he concludes with his Offers to serve me. As well therefore to justify myself from the different Reports about my first Letter, as to leave them no Colour or Pretence of not fully understanding my Design, I thought fit, after due Consideration, to send him this second Letter.’

Reverend Sir,

I Thankfully acknowledge the civil Offers in your Answer ; nor did I doubt before of your Justice, tho I could pretend no Title to your Favour either by Friendship or Merit. But you seem to mistake my Design, for I wrote to you as a publick Person, in order to communicate my Letter to the Assembly over which you preside, or at least to the Committee ; that in so doing I might give them full Information and Satisfaction ; or, that if they proceeded to any Censure, it should be a part of my Defence. My Resolutions of Silence about these or the like Matters for the future are honestly meant, and were fixed

*fixed a long Time before the Meeting of the Convocation, as some Persons of great Worth and Honour can testify. This is all that could be expected from one who cannot be brought to recant those Errors which he never held, however uncharitably imputed to him by others. As the Deference I paid to the Convocation is no more than their Due, and the farthest imaginable from Soothing; so I hope no body takes for Rudeness, what I was obliged to say in my own Vindication. Flattery is as much below me, as it is above me to menace: but in dealing plainly within the Bounds of good Manners, I can never dispense with myself. The space of a Month shall convince the World of my Sincerity in performing what I promised you with respect to the Established Church, which I really think to be the best National Constitution on Earth, and admirably suited to our Civil Government: and if my Judgment in this or any other Case may be thought of any Weight, it is more becoming me to declare it now, than at any Time of my Life before. But, referring to what I shall * publish on this Subject, I desire the Favour of you to impart this and my former Letter to*

* In Anglia Libera, Sect. 14.

your

your House, if they continue resolved to Censure my Books. And for the rest, I question not but you, in particular, will act answerably to your great Character, in pursuance of your Trust for the Interest of Religion, the Honour of the Church of England, and with no ill Intentions towards,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Jo. Toland.

‘ Having received no Answer to this Letter (which I now understand was no more communicated to the *House* than the Other) I took it for granted that I had given them intire Satisfaction both as to my Writings and Principles.†

But, my Lord, we find all Mr. *Toland's* Endeavours proved ineffectual; for the *Lower House of Convocation* drew up a *Representation* against him to the *Upper House*, wherein following the Example of their *Irish Brethren*, they condemned *Christianity not Myste-rious* as an *Atheistical Piece*; tho neither the whole Discourse, nor any part of it,

† See *Vindicius Liberius*, pag. 34.

can have any Sense or Meaning but as they are founded on the Being of a Deity. I dare say; your Lordship will concur with me, that People ought to be very tender and reserved in accusing a Man of any Thing that manifestly turns to his Disadvantage; but making one pass for a Traytor, a Parricide, or Murderer, are nothing, even in the Eyes of the World, to charging him with *Atheism*: for such a Person is not only justly looked upon as one that has no Reason or Reflection, but likewise as under no Ties of Conscience, of Obligations or Oaths, when he has an Opportunity of doing Mischief; and so not to be trusted in any private or publick Capacity. Besides that, a great many People, when they are confidently told by those on whose Judgment and Sincerity they depend (such as their Spiritual Guides) that any Man is an *Atheist*, they presently conclude him Guilty of all those Immoralities, which they take to be the Natural Consequences of his Opinion; and, without farther Examination, they actually charge him with all the ill Things that come into their Heads. This is taken on Trust by others; and so let the Person be Innocent as a Child, yet his Vindication will never probably reach so many as are prejudiced against him,

L

him, and his crafty Enemies thus securely gratify their Malice or Revenge. 'Tis no matter for Truth, calumniate stoutly, something will stick. I shall conclude this Article, with the Author's most solemn Protestation, submitting it to the Judgment of every Reader, to believe it real or feigned, as his Heart shall dictate to him—Mr. Toland's Words are these :

‘ I solemnly profess to the World, and
 ‘ make my Appeal to Heaven, that in
 ‘ writing *Christianity not Mysterious*, I
 ‘ neither doubted myself of the Wisdom,
 ‘ Goodness, or Power of God ; nor in the
 ‘ least intended to bring others into
 ‘ any Scruples about his Attributes or
 ‘ Existence ; and, whatever Errors or
 ‘ Mistakes there may be in that Treatise,
 ‘ yet I challenge all my Accusers to discover any Thing in the same, directly
 ‘ or indirectly, expressed or implied, as
 ‘ tending to Atheism, which I execrate
 ‘ and abhor from the Bottom of my Soul ;
 ‘ or if any of the *Lower House* thought
 ‘ me to be truly guilty of this most heinous of all Crimes, why would they not
 ‘ hear me at my own Request, when I
 ‘ might either vindicate myself from this
 ‘ foul Aspersions, or be thoroughly convinced of so dangerous an Error in such

'a numerous and learned Assembly of
'*Divines*?'

The Answer to this Question, my Lord, being only proper for the *Clergy* to give; I shall next proceed to lay before your Lordship, his *Letters to Serena*, the Occasions of writing which, he thus severally accounts for: *viz.* The Subject of the First Letter, is, *The Origin and Force of Prejudices*, not from their Physical, but their Moral Causes. The Occasion was, upon producing that Passage of *Cicero* (lib. 1. *De Leg.*) where he says, '* Neither Parents, or Nurse, or School-Master, or Poet, or Play-House, *depraves our Senses*, nor can the Consent of the Multitude *mislead them*: but all sorts of Traps are laid to *seduce our Understandings*, either by *those* whom I just now mentioned, *who* when they receive us tender and ignorant, *infect* and *bend us* as *they please*; or else by that *Pleasure* which lies so deeply rooted in every one of our Senses, the *pretended Follower* of *Good*, but the *real Mother* of all *Evils*, corrupted by whose *Allurements*, we do not sufficiently distinguish *those Things* that are

* Sensus nostros non Parens, non Nutrix, non Magister, non Poeta, non Scena depravat, &c.

‘good by Nature, because they want
 ‘this *Softness* and *Titillation*.’ Upon
 this Passage Mr. *Toland* has drawn an
 agreeable and lively Picture, of the
Prejudices in all Conditions of Men.
 ‘We no sooner see the Light, says he,
 ‘but the grand Cheat begins to delude
 ‘us from every Quarter.’ The very
Midwife hands the Child into the World
 with superstitious Ceremonies, nor is the
Priest behind hand, to initiate him be-
 times into his Service, by pronouncing
 certain *Forms of Words* as so many *pow-
 erful Charms*, &c. thereby securing him
 as his own Right and Property for the
 future. This shows how early those
 about him begin to infect him (if they
 could) with their own Mistakes, and
 how industriously every one with whom
 he has afterwards to do, endeavours to
 deprave his Reason from the very begin-
 ning; so that not remembering when, or
 where, or how he came by many of his No-
 tions, he is tempted to believe that they pro-
 ceed from Nature itself, and is astonished
 to find that any should call the Truth of
 them in Question. Nay, so far does the
 Seducement reach, that, when he is
 transmitted from the *Nurse* to the *School-
 Master*, being dinned in the Ears with
 Stories of *Demons, Witches*, and *Appa-
 ritions*, he is brought to *Think*, when
 he

he is *but puzzled*, that he is *convinced*, and *greedily swallows* what he cannot *comprehend*. From *School*, he is attended to the *University*, and from *thence*, enters the *Publick Scenes of Life*; in passing through which, (as is observed in the conclusion of this Letter) every one is wholly secured by a *right Use* of his *Understanding* against all *Illusions*, and content with what he *already knows*, and pleased with *New Discoveries*, without thinking himself concern'd in things *inscrutable*; not led like a *Beast* by *Authority* or *Passion*, but giving *Law* to his own *Actions* as a *free and reasonable Man*.

The Second Letter contains *The History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens*; occasioned by recommending to a Lady the perusal of a *French Translation of Plato's Phædo*. She wondered that the reading of that Book could add any Force to *Cato's* Resolution of laying violent Hands on himself; acknowledging that she found little cogent Evidence, and a world of precarious Suppositions, throughout that whole tedious *Dialogue*. Mr. Toland assured her, that Divine Authority was the surest Anchor of our Hope, and the best, if not the only Demonstration of the *Soul's Immortality*. In this Letter, he
ascertains

ascertains the Time when this Opinion begun among the Heathens, and shows the gradual Progress of it through all the Parts of the Earth then known, together with the true Original of the Poetical Fables concerning the *Elysian* Fields, the Rivers, Judges, Gates, and Ferry-Man of Hell, of Souls being disquieted for want of orderly Burial, and manifest Proofs that the ancient *Egyptians* were the genuine Fountains of all Learning and Religion to the Heathen World. He has likewise proved, that the Opinion of *the Soul's Immortality* had not its beginning from the Philosophers, as making such an Inference from the Spontaneous Motions, Reasoning, or Speech of Men; but, on the contrary, he has shown this Notion among the Heathens to have been first taken up by the Mob, popular Traditions often becoming the Doctrines of Philosophers, who strive to support by *good Reasons* what the others begun with *none, or very bad ones*. 'The *Druids* (says he) who taught the *Transmigration of Souls*, borrowed their Letters from the *Greeks*, and probably their Philosophy, as *Julius Cæsar* in express Words informs us.' This might easily be done by means of the most ancient *Greek* Colony of *Marseilles*, famous for Arts and Learning.

ing. They might have a Communication with those of the *Grecian* Country and Religion behind them in *Italy*. And from their Neighbours the *Germans*, (who are often comprehended under the Name of *Celts*, as well as themselves) they might likewise receive the Doctrine of *Zamolxis*. But, however this could happen, *Lucan* in the first Book of his *Pharsalia*, sings of the *Druids*, and those Nations in this manner.

*The Druids now, while Arms are heard no more,
Old Mysteries, and barb'rous Rites restore:
A Tribe who singular Religion love,
And haunt the lonely Coverts of the Grove.
To these, and these of all Mankind alone,
The Gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown.
If dying Mortals Dooms they sing aright,
No Ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful Night:
No parting Souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent Shades below:
But forth they fly Immortal in their Kind,
And other Bodies in new Worlds they find.
Thus Life for ever runs its endless Race,
And like a Line, Death but divides the Space,
A Stop which can but for a Moment last,
A Point between the Future and the Past.*

*Thrice happy they beneath their Northern Skies,
Who that worst Fear, the Fear of Death, despise;*

Hence

*Hence they no Cares for this frail Being feel,
But rush undaunted on the pointed Steel;
Provoke approaching Fate, and bravely scorn
To spare that Life which must so soon return.*

ROWE.

This was the Notion of the *Soul's Immortality*, among those People who were not illuminated by Divine Revelation. They had several Disputes about the *Soul's Pre-existence, Duration, Essence*, and the *Manner and Time* of its coming into the *Body*, its leaving of it, and their *Union together*. Nor have the *Modern Philosophers* succeeded any better than the *Ancients*, and among both of them, scarce any *Two* were of a *Mind*; 'where-
'as, in my Opinion (says Mr. *Toland*) the
'*Moderns* have not the same right to ex-
'amine this Matter as the *Ancients*, but
'ought humbly to acquiesce in the Autho-
'rity of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, who
'brought Life and Immortality to light.'

In the Third Letter, your Lordship will find *The Origin of Idolatry*, explained after a very different manner from what is commonly received. There also we may read the first Causes of the Heathen Temples, Priests, and Altars, their Feasts, and Sacrifices; of Images, Statues, and Tutelary Powers; of Ghosts, Spectres, Oracles, Magick, and

and Judiciary Astrology; with the Reasons how People came to imagine that Heaven (or the Palace of the Good) was over their Heads, and that Hell (or the Prison of the Wicked) was under their Feet; why they look up when they Pray, and several other Things of this Nature, for which it is generally imagined no Account can be given besides Custom, or that in the Abyss of Time, and under the Ruins of proper Monuments, such Originals are irrecoverably buried. Reasons are likewise given in this Letter for the principal of the Heathen Rites, the odd Descriptions they have made of their Deities, the ungodlike Histories they relate of their Actions, and other Particularities which have been long regarded as the Fictions of Poets, or the Extravagancies of Human Imagination, but no way to be probably reduced to the Exactness of History. And last of all is explained the Threefold Division of the Heathen Theology into Natural, Civil, and Poetical, with the Allegorical Interpretation of their Mysteries, and a Parallel of their Practices with the Corruptions of Christianity; whereby it appears, that in all Ages, *Superstition is actually the same, however the Names of it may vary.* From what he had before observed concerning the *Origin of*

M Ghosts

Ghosts and Astrology among the Heathens, he now produces this beautiful Passage of Lucan, to show that they were addicted to all manner of Divination and Magick.

*Of all the Flitting Shadows of the Slain,
Fate doubts which Ghost shall turn to Life again.
At her strong Bidding (Such is her Command)
Armies at once had left the Stygian Strand;
Hell's Multitudes had waited on her Charms,
And Legions of the Dead had ris'n to Arms.
Among the dreadful Carnage strew'd around,
One, for her purpose fit, at length she found;
In his pale Jaws a rusty Hook she hung,
And dragg'd the wretched lifeless Load along:
Anon, beneath a craggy Cliff she staid,
And in a dreary Delve her Burthen laid;
There evermore the wicked Witch delights,
To do her Deeds accurs'd, and practise hellish
Rites †.*

ROWE.

This whole Dissertation is a memorable Proof and Instance to what an astonishing degree of Extravagance human Nature is capable of arriving. But if any should wonder how Men could leave the direct and easy Path of Reason to wan-

† Quis labor hic superis, &c. — Lucan. Lib. VI.

der in such inextricable Mazes, let him but consider how in very many and considerable Regions the plain Institution of *Jesus Christ* could degenerate into the most absurd Doctrines; unintelligible Jargon, ridiculous Practices, and inexplicable Mysteries: and how almost in every corner of the World, Religion and Truth could be changed into Superstition and Priestcraft.

The other Pieces in this Volume, are two Philosophical Letters. The First was sent to an excessive Admirer of *Spinoza*, one wholly addicted to his Principles, and reputed the best of any to understand his System. This Gentleman having been assured by Mr. Toland, that the whole *Fabrick of that Philosophy* was without any *solid Foundation*; of which he laying immediate hold, 'would never (*says he*) let me be quiet, till, 'getting leisure enough in a lonely Country-Retirement, I wrote this Letter. 'Being a Person of extraordinary Candour, he freely acknowledged *Spinoza* 'to be defective in that Point, and consequently in all that depended on it; 'tho he had never observed so much before, and some other *Spinosists* showed 'the same Ingenuity.' But he freely acknowledges the dislike your Lordship expressed of the latter part of that Letter,

wherein he declared his own Opinion, that *Motion is essential to Matter no less than Extension*, and that *Matter* neither ever was, nor ever can be, a sluggish, dead, and inactive Lump, or in a State of absolute Repose.

To the several Objections, my Lord, you were pleased to make, he (informs us that he) returned distinct Answers in the *Second Letter* upon this Subject, and thus argues from it.—‘ For the *Apo-*
‘ *logies* I make about maintaining a
‘ Notion so flatly opposite both to the
‘ Ancients and Moderns, *the Reader* will
‘ be convinced that my Opinion is not
‘ chargeable with any of those ill Con-
‘ sequences to which at first Sight it
‘ may seem obnoxious: for I fancy I have
‘ made it very clear, that *Motion* is but
‘ *Matter* under a *certain Consideration*,
‘ tho it does not imply or exhaust the
‘ whole Idea of *Matter*, no more than
‘ *Extension* does.—Indeed it would
‘ be a Contradiction that *Motion* was es-
‘ sential to *Matter*, and yet that only
‘ *some parts* of *Matter*, and on *certain*
‘ *Occasions*, were endowed with a Power
‘ of *moving themselves*; whereas *Matter*
‘ may as well be sometimes without *Ex-*
‘ *tension* as without *Motion*, if there be
‘ any weight in my Allegations; tho nei-
‘ ther *this*, nor *that*, nor any other par-

‘ ticular

‘*ticular* Direction of its *Motion* be *essential* to it, but left to the ordinary *Determinations* of the *mutual Action* of *Bodies* on one another, or to the *immediate Power*, and *most wise Purpose* of *Almighty God*. But to say that *God* may take *Motion* from *Matter*, tho it were *essential* to it, is to say, that he can make it *no Matter*.’

He well observes in the Conclusion of his Preface, that there is nothing *in these Letters* ‘but what may be read without *Passion* by those of all Parties, Sects, and Factions. These are only innocent *Researches* into the venerable Ruins of *Antiquity*, or short *Essays* in *Philosophy* not calculated to offend any, but to please all; and to Divert, if they are not capable to Instruct.’

The High-Church Clergy having again attacked Mr. Toland, I shall close this Article, my Lord, with his true Character of Dr. Sacheverell (who had very injuriously traduced him in a Libel, intitled, *The Character of a Low-Churchman*) That Person, says he, has pleased so very few by his furious and intemperate way of Writing, not to speak of his want of Knowledge as well as want of Civility, and indeed the very Design of his Libel was so extremely wicked, to oppress SOME, and to divide us ALL,
that

that without regard to him, or those of his Kidney, I may venture to declare myself a Low-Churchman at Home, and an Occasional Conformist with the Protestants abroad.

Upon all Points of Controversy, your *Lordship* knows Mr. Toland's usual Declaration to have been, That he never was over confident of his own Judgment: 'I shall ever pay, *says he*, all 'reasonable Deference and Submission to 'the deliberate, serious, prudent, impartial and peaceable Deliberations of any 'Society of Men; but yet without they 'inlighten my Understanding, and convince my Judgment, it is impossible for 'me to give them my Assent in perplexed 'or dubious Matters, much less to be 'sway'd in any Thing by their bare Authority against the clear Persuasion of my 'own Mind.'

Such were the Sentiments of the *Immortal* Tillotson! who, in his admirable Sermon concerning *Stedfastness in Religion*, declares, that *it is neither Immodesty, nor a culpable Singularity, for a Man to stand alone in the Defence of the Truth.* For, adds that venerable Prelate in the same Discourse, — *If all the great Mathematicians of all Ages, Archimedes and Euclid, and Appollonius, and Diophantus, &c. could be supposed*

posed to meet together in a General Council, and should there declare in the most solemn manner, and give it under their Hands and Seals, that twice Two did not make Four, but Five, this would not move me in the least to be of their Mind. Nay, I, who am no Mathematician, would maintain the contrary, and would persist in it, without being in the least startled by the positive Opinion of these great and learned Men: and should most certainly conclude, that they were either all of them out of their Wits, or that they were biassed by some Interest or other, and swayed against the clear Evidence of Truth, and the full Conviction of their own Reason, to make such a Determination as this. They might indeed over-rule the Point by their Authority; but, in my Inward Judgment, I should still be where I was before. And to show that a Man ought not to be put out of Countenance by the Name of a Church, or be borne down by the Number of a Council, the concurring Judgment of Mr. Hooker with Archbishop Tillotson, cannot be enough deservedly admired. Altho Ten Thousand General Councils (says that most learned Divine) should set down one and the same Definitive Sentence concerning any Point of Religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative Reason alledged, or
one

one Testimony cited from the Word of God himself to the contrary, could not chuse but oversway them all : inasmuch as for them to be deceived, is not so impossible, as it is that demonstrative Reason, or divine Testimony, should Deceive. And again, That the Authority of Men should prevail with Men, either against or above Reason, is no part of our Belief. Companies of learned Men, tho they be never so Great and Reverend, are to yield unto Reason, the Weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the Simplicity of the Person which doth alledge it ; but being found to be sound and good, the bare Opinion of Men to the contrary must of necessity stoop and give place †. This he conceives to be the Judgment of the Church of England as well as his own ; so did Cranmer, Jewel, Chillingworth, with the most applauded and respected Writers since the Reformation.

The next Pieces, *my Lord*, which fall under Consideration, are his *Nazareus* and *Tetradymus* ; but the Objections to the former of them being so recent, and the latter being the Subject of a Controversy now on foot, I shall leave the Points therein treated of, to be debated by the Parties

† See, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, pag. 25, 26, & seq.

diately concerned: Nor dare I venture to give any other Account of the *Pantheisticon*, than barely a recital of the Title of it, (in the Catalogue of Mr. Toland's Works hereunto annexed) lest I should be stigmatized with the opprobrious Name of a *Free-Thinker* in the Ecclesiastical Sense of that Denomination; tho I shall ever be proud to own it as an honourable Characteristick among those of your Lordship's unerring Judgment.

Having thus, *my Lord*, gone through the most considerable of Mr. Toland's Writings, there yet remains about half a dozen small *Political Pamphlets*; most of which, as they relate to some Points he afterwards more largely discussed, I have thought the bare mention of them sufficient: And as I was out of Town for some Months before his late violent Indisposition, I must refer your Lordship to the Account I received from our sincere Friend Mr. ———, who was with him at the Time of his Departure. I am,

My Lord,

With the profoundest Respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient

humble Servant, &c.

London, May 10. 1722.

N

To



To Mr. * * * * *

S I R,

St. James's,
March 15. 17²⁷.

POOR *Toland* has breathed his last— and on the 13th Instant, his Remains were decently Interred in the Church-yard of *Putney*. He had, as I am told, for about four Years past, lived a recluse Life at a *Carpenter's* House in that Village. A severe *Rheumatism* had hung long upon Him, which turning to the *Black-Jaundice*, attended with a *Fever*, proved Mortal to him about three of the Clock on *Sunday* Morning, the 11th Instant, in the 53^d Year of his Age.

He behaved himself throughout the whole Course of his Sicknefs with a Philosophick Patience, an entire Resignation to the Divine Will, and was thoroughly sensible of his approaching Dissolution: For, upon his appearing somewhat more than ordinary chearful, the Day before he died, and my telling him that *I hoped he was better*; he replied quick upon me, *Sir, I have no hopes*
but

but in God *. A few Minutes before he expired, looking earnestly at some Friends that were in the Room, and being asked *if he wanted any thing*, he answered with the greatest Resolution, *I want nothing but Death*. He had some Hours before his Departure delivered the Keys of his Trunk to our valuable and worthy Friend Mr. W——, and before Witness consigned to Him all his printed Books both there and elsewhere, together with his Manuscripts, as a small Token of his Gratitude for the many Favours he had received from Him. His Landlady told me, that Mr. W—— had been so very kind to promise the Discharge of his Debts, had ordered the Ground to be marked where he was buried, and expressed his Intention of putting a Stone over him. As you have often remarked, the Clamours

* *Agreeable to this Expression, was his Declaration in his Nazarenus, pag. 69. 'For my own part, (says he) I readily acknowledge, that no Man can merit any thing of God by his good Works, be they ever so many or great; and that whatever hereceives, is by meer Grace and Mercy, even the best of us being, strictly speaking, Unprofitable Servants.'*

And in another Place, 'I appeal (says he) to all moderate, serious and learned Divines not biassed, whether I have ever shown by any of my Writings that I am an Enemy to Religion, tho avowedly so to Superstition. Religion pure and perfect, as it was originally taught, without the corrupt Additions and Alterations of ignorant or interested Persons, I both profess and recommend. Preface to Tetradymus, pag. xvii.'

92 *The LIFE of Mr. TOLAND.*

against his Writings, were wholly undeserved, and proceeded chiefly from those Upstarts who envied his Learning, from some insolent conceited Priests, or from those bigotted Enthusiasts who never read them, or could not have understood them if they had.

I heartily wish, that all those Persons who so readily give into the vile practice of Calumniating the Memories of such as differ from them in their narrow confined Notions of Things, would seriously lay that most excellent Scripture Caution to heart, *Let him that is free from Sin, cast the first Stone.*

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.



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Mr. Toland's Works in their
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MANUSCRIPTS, mentioned by Mr.
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How many, or which, of these Designs are executed, we know not. He was likewise about writing *the History of the Druids*, the Introduction to which is finished, and in the Hands of that Worthy Nobleman the Lord *Molesworth*.

There was found upon his Table when he died, a small *Latin Tract*, intitled, *Diatriba contra Medicos*, chiefly levelled against the Use of *Oils* and *Emetics*, so much of late in Vogue.

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